University of Kent

Kent Academic Repository

Pasoulas, Aki, Knight-Hill, Andrew and Martin, Brona (2022) *Soundscapes of the Past: Historical Imaginings*. In: Proceedings of the 2022 International Computer Music Conference. . International Computer Music Association ISBN 978-0-9713192-6-4

Downloaded from

https://kar.kent.ac.uk/94953/ The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/nk322g689

This document version

Publisher pdf

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

UNSPECIFIED

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

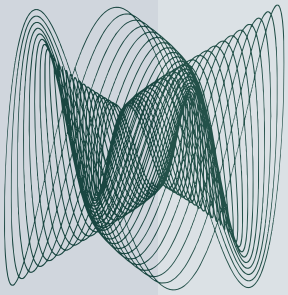
If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in ***Title of Journal*** , Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our Take Down policy (available from https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies).

UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK
OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH

STANDING WAVE ICMC 2022



International Computer Music Conference
University of Limerick - Ireland
2022

Proceedings of the International Computer Music Conference 2022
University *of* Limerick | July 3rd-9th, 2022, Limerick, Ireland

Standing Waves

Giuseppe Torre, editor

ISBN: 978-0-9713192-6-4

Published by
International Computer Music Association, Inc.
1819 Polk St., Suite 330
San Francisco, CA 94109
USA

These Proceedings are distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 3.0 Unported, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original authors and sources are credited.

icma@umich.edu
http://www.computermusic.org

Paper Session 9

Acoustic Ecology; Perception and Cognition

Soundscapes of the Past: Historical Imaginings

Dr Aki Pasoulas
University of Kent
a.pasoulas@kent.ac.uk

Dr Andrew Knight-Hill
University of Greenwich
a.hill@greenwich.ac.uk

Dr Brona Martin
University of Kent
B.Martin-451@kent.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Histories are primarily documented in visual or written form. Our 'Sonic Palimpsest' project seeks to subvert this occularcentric focus, exploring the potential of sonic perspectives, to unlock alternative understandings of our past.

Chatham dockyard, our case study site, was founded in 1547 and closed as a working yard in 1984. During the 400-plus years of its operation, tens of thousands of people were employed (or forced to work) in building construction and in launching more than 500 warships and repairing thousands of others. Countless stories have been collected throughout this period, some through diaries (the 17th C. diary of Samuel Pepys is a notable example) others found in oral history archives, books and papers. Our team has explored these sources and conducted new oral history interviews, applying anthropophonic perspectives to see if we can unpack new insight through sound.

Our research has demonstrated the rich potential of musical and sound-based knowledge frameworks to inform human, embodied and affective understandings of history which foreground people and place across time. This paper gives an overview of some of the salient sounding histories uncovered, focusing on three selected areas: the life of convicts in the dockyard, Samuel Pepys' diary, and our own interviews with former workers of the yard.

In this article, we describe information we used to create two main outputs for our project: a) A collection of 10 miniature compositions called Whispers of the Past, based on oral history interviews;[1] and b) a Heritage Soundmap that presents scenes from 5 different centuries (in progress); the soundmap will be available online and as a physical installation in Chatham Dockyard.

Copyright: © 2022 First author et al. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 3.0 Unported, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

[1] Whispers of the Past was commissioned by SparkedEcho as part of the Electric Medway Festival 2021. Our compositions are on this link: https://electricmedway.co.uk/events-2021/whispers-of-the-past-by-sonic-palimpsest/

1. THE CONVICTS

1.1 Introduction

Many texts have been written on heroic deeds and grandiose accomplishments almost always from the perspective of those in power. But not all historical narratives have a happy or heroic ending. We have been interested in how sonic perspectives might lend themselves to telling more alternative histories, to explore the interference at the edge of the standing wave of conventional historicism. How might thinking, and doing, sonically enable those hidden histories to be explored?

At the turn of the 19th century, there was much suffering and forced labour in Chatham dockyard. These experiences reflect both the geopolitical and local social contexts of the time. Income inequality, global conflict, imperialism all fed this system of cruel treatment. As the mediated world risks us sliding into safe anodyne realities where curated information streams dehumanise people migrating (whether forced as a result of conflict or for economic reasons) [1] or those who are less economically advantaged and living in poverty or homeless [2], it becomes even more important to tell these stories of oppression, so as to remind new generations of these past horrors and hope to avoid their repetition in the future.

Sounds have the potential to evoke embodied responses in the listener, thus they provide an ideal opportunity to create affective connections to historical events. By recreating these soundscapes as part of our Heritage Soundmap, we hope to highlight the vantage point and experience of the restrained and oppressed. One of the most shocking lesser-known historical narratives is around the historical treatment of prisoners in the early 19th century.

1.2 The Prison Hulks: Background

The Anglo-French and Napoleonic wars between 1778-1815 created more than 70,000 prisoners of war. After the American independence in 1776, Britain could not transport prisoners to America anymore, and the large number of convicts could not fit into land prisons. Obsolete warships called 'hulks' were permanently moored in the river and deployed as prisons (see Figure 1).

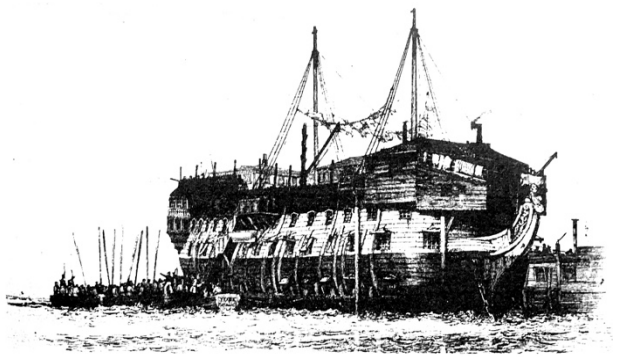


Figure 1. HMS York as hulk, 1828 [3, p. 7]. Courtesy of Chatham Dockyard Historical Society.

Chatham became a hulk station in the early 19th century. The hulks housed prisoners of war and convicts, the majority being petty offenders driven to crime by poverty, including juveniles, some as young as eight years old [4]. There was no schooling or praying in chapels for prisoners until the late 1920s.

1.3 Conditions, Escapes and Punishment

The hulks were desperately overcrowded. Figure 2 shows the hammock plan at Orlop deck of Brunswick hulk at Chatham (1813), which demonstrates the cramped conditions prisoners had to endure (Figure 2). The soundscape of these spaces must have been uncomfortably claustrophobic and cramped. Dense textures of breathing, shuffling, coughing, cursing, snoring, creaking of wood, and lack of open-air high frequencies would have dominated.

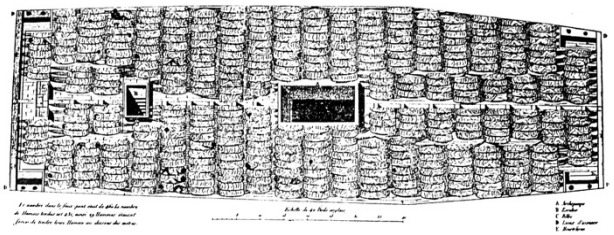


Figure 2. Hammock plan, Orlop deck of Bruswick hulk at Chatham, 1813 [3, p. 2]. Courtesy of Chatham Dockyard Historical Society.

Poor hygiene, malnutrition, poor quality of food and clothing, lack of good air and heating combined with hard labour resulted in death of many prisoners due to disease and hypothermia. Prisoners were woken at 5.30am, ate breakfast, washed the decks and were chained into work gangs (10 people in each, chained at the wrist and ankle) [3]. Bodies of deceased criminals were seen as fearful and repulsive, and most of the times they were denied a dignified burial by funeral directors. When convicts died in the night, other prisoners ransacked their few belongings. Bodies were laid on the floor and scrubbed with warm water and soap, a sight which often attracted a crowd. [4].

Prisoners who attempted to escape were either sent to hulks where conditions were more severe, or they were shot dead by the guards and their bodies were left exposed on the mudbanks to deter others [3, 5]. Sonic clues and vivid images of attempts to escape are given in extracts from newspapers of the time, such as The Hobart Town Courier and The Sydney Herald (1838), which describe the journey of escapees: washing the quarter-deck, wounding the guard on the head, rushing to the side of the vessel, grabbing oars and breaking away the moorings of a boat, reaching the marshes and dispersing in different directions until they are caught in a hollow between the hills [6, 7].

James Hardy Vaux was a medical student who was convicted for pickpocketing. After he completed his sentence he wrote a book on his experiences on the hulks. In his memoirs (1819), he describes the last hours and execution of a fellow prisoner. He recounts his last night spent mostly in reading, encouragement and singing hymns. "At eight o'clock the doleful sound of the tolling bell announced the awful ceremony, and he was a few minutes afterwards launched into eternity" [8, p. 102]. In his descriptions, Vaux gives us many indications of sounds heard on hulks; constant cursing and swearing, heavy chains, rattling of keys, footsteps of guards approaching, cell-doors unlocked/locked [8].

1.4 Cruelty and Hard Labour

Reports of publicly grotesque and illegal dissections of convict corpses by medical officers on the hulks created a great scandal. Some prisoners were forced to assist in the dissection of their own friends and they were made to clean the place afterwards. Convicts' bodies were sold to anatomy schools for training purposes and experiments. A chief surgeon, Peter Bossey, was accused of applying poor medical treatment on purpose thus allowing convicts to die, so that he could supply the anatomy schools for profit. There were reports of convicts on neighbouring ships watching medical officers throwing buckets of thick blood and human entrails overboard from the side of hulks. One can imagine the ghastly splashes that accompanied those images and the horror they created for those watching and hearing. Prisoners were denied dignity and moral respect even after death [4].

In 1818, the expansion of Chatham Dockyard was announced, which included the reclamation of St Mary's creek. Convicts provided the labour for this expansion. They worked in chain gangs, dredging channels and building structures [4]. In the 1850s, it became clear that the hulk system could not be improved or saved. When the hulk system finally collapsed, the authorities wanted to keep the labour provided by prisoners. In 1856, the prison on St Mary's Island was built, where convicts from the dockyard hulks were transported [9, 10]. Around 1200 prisoners were housed there, who did hard labour work building massive extensions to the Chatham dockyard, damming St Mary's creek to create three basins, five dry docks and draining the marshes in St Mary's Island to create space for stores, factories and sawmills [3].

In our work to sonically create the scenes described above we have recorded Impulse Responses (IRs) in many buildings and ships in the dockyard,[2] to immerse the

[2] Available for free download at https://research.kent.ac.uk/sonic-pal-impsest/impulse-responses

listener in the acoustic environments of the historic spaces. Although furnishing in some cases has been changed through time, affecting in turn reflections and frequencies, geometries and larger structures remained largely the same. We try to emulate acoustic spaces that do not currently exist, such as the hulks, by using approximate filtering and wood resonances. Sound design and foley sounds recorded in our studios are layered with our location recordings and IRs to create immersive environments. Crowd and dramatic scenes with prisoners are most challenging; we are currently creating scripts to be used by a local theatrical company, which we will record with loop groups in the dockyard site.

2. EXPLORING PRIMARY SOURCES

2.1 Introduction

As part of this project, we are digitising Oral History Archives belonging to Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust. These Oral History Archives, the earliest from 1983, offer an insight into the daily activities of the dockyard as far back as the late 20th century. The sounds of the dockyard reflect a range of knowledge and skills learned and developed by shipwrights, pattern makers, draftsmen, boiler makers, caulkers, house carpenters, blacksmiths and rope-makers. The sounds of their tools working with different materials in different types of spaces contributed to the soundscape of the dockyard.

But how do we document and explore the history of the dockyard through sound prior to this? In order to reconstruct the soundscape and create a historic timeline we have been exploring primary sources such as written accounts, photographs and maps. We have learned about primary sources such as excerpts from Samuel Pepys' diary from 1660-1669 and Blaise Oliver's, (Master Shipwright of the King of France) account of Chatham Dockyard from 1737.

2.2 Commuting in the 17th century

The soundscapes that we imagine are a product of the descriptions of place and time. We must search for clues within Pepys' diary looking for descriptions of objects or landscapes that might hint as to what types of sounds Pepys experienced as he walked around the dockyard. Pepys was a regular visitor to Chatham Dockyard during the mid-seventeenth century, where he was a member of the navy board holding a position similar to that of a secretary. He was responsible for ensuring the efficient running of the yard [11].

Pepys' diary mostly documents his daily travels and commutes, featuring descriptions about the people he meets and who he dines with. He travels by foot, barge, horse and coach. For example, on the 15th of January 1661 he takes a barge from the Dockyard in Woolwich, London to Blackwall. Then he walks to 'Dick-Shore', Lime-house and then on to the Tower of London [12, pp. 364-365].

Pepys often commuted from London to the Medway towns. On the 16th of January 1661 he left Southwark by horse and travelled to Dartford and on to Rochester which took about 4 hours. Pepys' journeys to Kent from London involved different modes of transport. He spent a lot of time travelling out-doors. There were no screeching rail lines, beeping ticket machines, safety or destination announcements or elevator and escalator sounds. The sounds of the car engine and car horn did not exist. Instead, he listened to the rhythmic footfalls of horse hooves on different types of surfaces often combined with the sound of the wheels of the carriage when he travelled by coach. Or the sounds of water lapping against the sides of a barge. In his diary entry for the 4th of August 1662, Pepys describes the return journey from Chatham to London. On this rare occasion he mentions a sound source "being guided by nothing but the barking of a dog" [10, p. 723] as they travelled by boat. This image conjures up a sense of space and openness, where sounds have their own space within the natural "hi-fi" environment that enveloped the River Thames at that time. It is easy to imagine that these commutes were free from the battles and stresses of modern tube and motorway "lo-fi" soundscapes.

Pepys' descriptions of his commutes by boat and horse and cart can be compared to the methods of transport used by dockyard workers in the 19th and 20th centuries. Interviewees from the archive have described how workers mainly traveled by bicycle, bus or train which would contribute to a very different soundscape. One interview remarked, "there were about 50 buses ready to bring workers home". The difference in these commuting soundscapes will be reflected within our Heritage Soundmap where we will explore the changing soundscape over the centuries with a section on transportation and commuting.

2.3 Pepys at Chatham Dockyard

While at Chatham, Pepys stays at Hill House which he mentions in his diary. The Master Shipwright of Chatham Dockyard resided at Hill House making it a very important building within the dockyard.

In his diary entry on the 8th of April 1661, Pepys describes his first visit to Hill House, "where I never was before, and I found a pretty pleasant house and am pleased with the arms that hang there. Here we supped very merry and late to bed" [12, p. 413]. Pepys' mention of this building is important since it no longer exists at Chatham Dockyard. "The Hill House at Chatham was the "Admiralty House" of its day. […] Its use for naval purposes continued for a period of over 150 years during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries terminating about the year 1720 after which it continued to be used for a variety of other purposes before being finally demolished early in the nineteenth century to make way for the old Royal Marine Barracks then to be erected" [12, p. 691].

Further research into the location of Hill House within the dockyard offers an insight into land use and activities during the late 16th century. Frederick Cull [13] writes about Hill House, discussing useful maps and engravings from the early 18th century (See Figure 3).

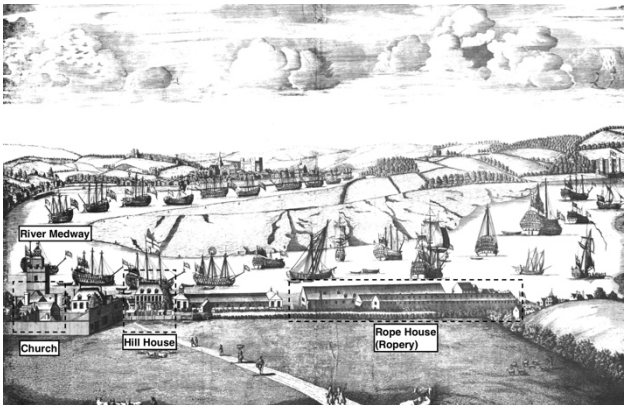


Figure 3. "Updated Engraving. Viewpoint is on the hill immediately opposite the Hill House. The caption reads "Prospect of his Majestie's Royal Navy lying at the several moorings at Chatham". Probable date 1715". [13, p. 104]

This engraving reveals that Hill House had large gardens and fields eastwards of the River Medway facing out towards what is now Dock Road. It was also used as lodgings for naval officers and other important visitors. In his diary entry for the 3rd of August 1662 Pepys describes a walk in the garden as 'very pleasant'. This description along with the engraving would lead one to imagine a tranquil and peaceful soundscape around this area, where naval officers chatted and walked up and down Chatham Hill. Hill House was demolished and replaced by Marine Barracks in the early 19th century. Understanding these changes in land and building usage help us to create a more accurate soundscape as it changed over the centuries.

2.4 Searching for Sonic Clues

On the 4th of August 1662, Pepys set out at 4am to inspect the dockyard along with Commissioner Pett. His descriptions reveal that there were not many officers about. His diary entry shows that HMS Sovereign was at the dockyard, "which we found kept in good order and very clean, which pleased us well, but few of the officers on board" [12, p. 722]. Further research revealed that the Sovereign was being rebuilt at Chatham in 1660 and was still there when Pepys arrived to inspect the dockyard. The presence of this ship would have had an impact on the soundscape, with naval staff required to clean and maintain the ship.

Blaise Ollivier also saw the Royal Sovereign at Chatham Dockyard in 1737 and has described some of the maintenance tasks that were being carried out on this ship. Despite it being 75 years after Pepys inspected the dockyard, we can get a sense of the type of maintenance tasks carried out by dockyard workers that were necessary to keep a wooden ship of this size in working order. For example, Ollivier witnessed the task of 'graving' the ship, a term used to describe the 'scraping, cleaning, painting, or tarring' of the under body of the ship [14]. "I saw them pay the hull of the Royal Sovereign with this black stuff without being able to learn of what materials it was composed. I presume that it is sulphur dissolved in oil or tar, and that they also mix in with it glass which has been crushed and reduce to powder" [15]. Caulkers would have been responsible for this task, where seaweed, barnacles and other debris would then be "burned off (known as breaming) with the hull caulked and then given a coating of tar that would help seal it from water incursion" [16].

These primary sources and first-hand accounts provide a starting point that leads to further revelations, which can help us to reconstruct the soundscape of the dockyard. The very fact that we know which ship was at the dockyard at a certain point in time means we can re-imagine the soundscapes that were associated with ship building and maintenance. The detailed description of certain tasks such as graving, provided by Ollivier assist in the re-creation of detailed layers within this complex soundscape. The workers at the dockyard contributed to the anthropophonic soundscape where their knowledge and skills were dispersed throughout the dockyard through sound. We can now imagine and hear the sounds of cleaning, scraping and painting or the sounds of crushing class which is then mixed with tar. Further research into ship maintenance and cleaning is enhanced by liaising with ship keepers at Chatham Dockyard who are responsible for ship maintenance.

3. ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

3.1 Power and Political Perspectives

One of the challenges of the historical archives is that while we may infer sonic understandings from our sources, we are always applying our own suppositions to create an interpretation of what might have been. When it comes to capturing new information and new data we have the ability to frame our questioning in order to capture primary sonic knowledge about the environment.

We undertook interviews with workers from the dockyard those who had undergone apprenticeship training, mostly from the 1950s, '60s and '70s, and had then gone on to work in various different trades of the dockyard. Through these interviews we wanted to gain an understanding, not just of memories of sounds heard within the dockyard, but to seek to access the fundamental importance of sound within the material practices of industrial activity and the action of the individuals themselves. How did sound play a part in their daily work lives? Their technical processes? The materials they worked with? Their interrelation and collaboration with peers? Our goal was to understand the sonic significances within the material labour of physical action undertaken by those working in the dockyard, and to investigate if sound and sonic thinking could help to unlock new and alternative perspectives on the heritage and history of the dockyard.

This approach is deeply inspired by conceptual ideas from practice research, and Tim Ingold's ideas around making [17]. Ingold argues that there are different ways of understanding; one can either know *about* something, or one can know *through* something. These are two very distinct modes of understanding which each provide unique perspectives and insights. Soundscape studies itself can often frame itself in objective terms, regarding sounds as separated and removed from the world, divorced from their social or political context.

This ideological standpoint perhaps has its roots in core questions of reality and abstraction and the notion that there is an absolute distinction between the sounds as

experienced in the "real world" versus those experienced in the soundscapes constructed via recording. Even in heightened political moments the auditor often thinks of themselves as an outside observer engaging from a detached and distanced perspective, "as an outsider — a migrant, a newcomer, a visitor — to the communities demonstrating, in some senses I held an objective viewpoint" [18]. But as the Black Lives Matter movement has highlighted we must be incredibly careful of our apparent assumptions around objectivity, not least where we find ourselves in acknowledged contexts as outsiders. As Denis Cosgrove states of landscape: "Landscape is a way of seeing which is bourgeois, individualist and related to the exercise of power" [19].

The historical archive often prioritises this documentation *about*, and therefore we wanted to use our data collection to ensure that we were gaining new and alternative understandings of what it meant to be engaged in practices materially, utilising sound as a conduit. To apply such a sono-centric approach in historical data collection also presents a kind of radical political shift in the way that knowledge is transmitted and controlled. This is because the majority of the historical record documents reality from a very abstracted privileged hierarchical position (documenting *about*). Often the narratives are about Kings and Admirals, those in senior positions, and the workers at the bottom are left silenced. The political prescience of this discussion is highlighted by the British government's own early 2021 drive towards "protecting heritage for future generations" and "retain and explain" (linked in with their appointment of "free speech champions" for universities) [20]. This very act of intervention by the government acknowledges the significance of interpretation and highlights the politics and power balances at play in the representation of ideas and heritage. Therefore, it is with a sense of heightened purpose that we seek to engage, via our medium of sound, with a careful attention to wider social and political implications at play, and especially in response to notions of "protect" and "retain".

3.2 Sonic Understandings of Practice

Oral history, of course, has a long trajectory of unpacking and unlocking otherwise forgotten histories, but there's something that a sonic approach provides beyond even traditional oral history. It provides an opportunity to draw out affective and embodied reminiscences, with its emphasis on the material textures and enacted gestures, conjuring up resonances of experiences and the tangible physicality of human activity. It invites those reminiscing to re-enact the vibrations and physical action of their practices, in a way that evokes more vivid impressions of the experiences. This potential in sonic histories is even more potent for physical industrial activity that is manual and material and by sharing and presenting their voices we are enabled to reveal a radically alternative historical impression of the dockyard.

An example of this is found our interview with Alex Routen who worked in the Boilershop, manufacturing large scale component parts for ships:

> "Mostly we were making metal cylinders which have their own particular sound inside, and travelling out the end, of course. That's where the noise was. I walked past this chap who was riveting these torpedo tubes, just as he was hitting it with a hammer, and it was like *booha* a blow on the side of your head with the noise being projected out! […] In riveting you hammer that red hot metal down to expand the shank and form the head which is going to keep it in place, so that's where the hammering came in [...] It was done by hand when I started, two hammer men would be there *bang Bang bang Bang*, but other times they used the pneumatic riveting guns and they made more of a *bewurrrrrm*, and they are very loud".

These reminiscences are not simply description about the sounds and activities, but a very physical rearticulation and re-enlivening of the gestures and actions involved in these practices. The powerful use of onomatopoeic descriptions (in italics above) creates a visceral impression of the lived physical experience of the people at work in these spaces, not a detached and clinical observing, but an embodied engagement of practices represented through the sounding of their activity. This demonstrates the potential of engaging sonic sensibilities within oral history interviews and the documentation of historical activity, one can excite new memories and make documents of those experiences.

Such gestural activity is complemented by documentation of more spatial narratives, such as those shared by electrician Lionel Beard, working on an O-Class Submarine:

> "Along the top of the flood tanks there are little tiny inspection hatches and one of the jobs that I had to do was to go down through these, into the ballast tanks, and crawl along to the front where there was a trim tank, where I had to check that the earth was connected correctly to the depth gauge. […] It had a deep hollow-ish sound […] I could hear lots of these very high pitched pneumatically driven drills, working away in the ship, their sounds vibrating through the metal."

This contrasting narrative paints a picture of a much less intense, acousmatic, spatial environment. A more textural space, replete with reverb and a range of both close and distant sound sources reverberating through the material of the hull. It offers insight into notions of scale and proportion between the human – squeezing themselves into confined spaces to engage in specialist work – and the large metal vessels under construction.

Responses such as those cited above, were used to inform the development of soundscape compositions which sought to recreate and revoke impressions of the active dockyard soundscapes. These works did not simply provide a description of "past sounds" re-heard, but sought to exemplify and represent beyond this description about the historical soundscape, to seek to access affective impressions from the interviews, in an attempt to articulate the feeling of and emotions generated through the cited actions and practices. These miniatures were presented as part of the electric Medway festival as a work called Whispers of the Past [21], a series of 10 short compositions each one built around the reflections from a particular individual. We shared these soundscapes with the individuals concerned to received positive feedback including detailed follow up responses outlining further memories and responses that had been inspired by our works.

Such understanding enables us, through a knowledge of work and action, to appreciate a deeply imbricated and foundational sonic experience of the dockyard. Engaging our knowledge and understanding of practices and practice research methods, developed in our study of music, we have the tools and frameworks to contribute positively and provide unique insights to the processes of recording of our shared cultural heritage.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Accessing parallel strands of historical information with anthropophonic perspectives, provides us with a diverse and rich insights into the textures and gestures of the historical dockyard soundscapes. But more importantly, this perspective provides a point of access to the human experiences of those who worked and died within this industrial complex. The responses and conversations with living specialist workers inform our empathetic understanding of the human experience in the dockyard, and this can be projected back into our understandings of those people cited in the archive records.

Perspectives and frameworks from our understanding of musical practices and performances, are aptly suited to elicit knowledge and insights into human experiences and to communicate those understandings to audiences and visitors via soundscape composition.

Our continuing research seeks to demonstrate the collaborative and interdisciplinary potential of enabling artistic and musical practices to inform historical understandings. This includes their political importance, with an ability of these to demonstrate alternative human narratives, subverting traditional power loci and enabling the focus on alternative histories and understandings.

Acknowledgments

Our research project is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

5. REFERENCES

[1] C. Tileagă, "Ideologies of moral exclusion: a critical discursive reframing of depersonalization, delegitimization and dehumanization" *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, pp. 717–737, 2007.

[2] T. Shildrick, *Poverty propaganda: Exploring the myths*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2018.

[3] "Convicts in the Dockyard", Chatham Dockyard Historical Society, Research Paper 2, pp. 1-11, no date.

[4] A. L. McKay, "'Allowed to die'? Prison Hulks, Convict Corpses and the Inquiry of 1847", *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 163-181, May 2021.

[5] "Hulks", The Institutional History Society, https://institutionalhistory.com/homepage/prisons/hulks/ (accessed Dec. 10, 2021).

[6] "Desperate Attempt to Escape from Chatham Hulks" The Hobart Town Courier, p.4, Nov. 2, 1838. Accessed: Nov. 30, 2021. [Online]. Available: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/4162026?searchTerm=Desperate%20Attempt%20to%20Escape%20from%20Chatham%20Hulks

[7] "Desperate Attempt to Escape from Chatham Hulks" The Sydney Herald, p.2, Nov. 21, 1938. Accessed Nov. 30, 2021. [Online]. Available: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/12859380?searchTerm=Desperate%20Attempt%20to%20Escape%20from%20Chatham%20Hulks

[8] J. H. Vaux, *Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux*, London: W. Clowes, 1819.

[9] D. Siggers, "Mutiny at St Mary's Convict Prison, Chatham", Donna Siggers, https://www.donnasiggers.com/blog/mutiny-at-st-marys-convict-prison-chatham (accessed Dec. 12, 2021).

[10] "Chatham Prison", Prison History, https://www.prisonhistory.org/prison/chatham-prison/ (accessed Dec. 10, 2021).

[11] P. MacDougall, *Chatham Dockyard, The Rise and Fall of an Industrial Complex*. The History Press. 2012 (p. 24).

[12] S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Standard Ebooks. 2021.

[13] F. Cull, *Chatham – The Hill House (1567-1805)*, Archaeologica Cantiana, LXXVII, 1962.

[14] P. Louden-Brown, "The Hamilton Graving Dock", https://www.titanicbelfast.com/history-of-titanic/titanic-stories/the-hamilton-graving-dock/ (accessed Jan. 7, 2022).

[15] D. H. Roberts (ed.), Eighteenth Century Shipbuilding: Remarks on the Navies of the English and Dutch by Blaise Ollivier. Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992 (p. 163).

[16] P. MacDougall, *Chatham Dockyard, The Rise and Fall of an Industrial Complex*. The History Press. 2012 (p. 12).

[17] T. Ingold, *Making*. London: Routledge, 2012.

[18] T. Rennie, "Power Struggles: The Politics of Composing with Sounds of Protest", *Leonardo Music Journal*, 25, pp. 17-20, 2015.

[19] D. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Totawa, NJ. Barnes and Noble, 1985.

[20] "Oliver Dowden", https://twitter.com/OliverDowden (accessed Feb. 23, 2021)

[21] Whispers of The Past - https://explore.echoes.xyz/collections/9pGPjblUjXaiACPB (accessed Jan. 9, 2022).